

## Message Text

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AID-05 CEA-01 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-08 EA-10 FRB-03  
INR-07 IO-13 NEA-10 NSAE-00 OPIC-03 SP-02 TRSE-00  
LAB-04 SIL-01 AGRE-00 OMB-01 SS-15 STR-06 DODE-00  
/102 W

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P R 271800Z JAN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY ROME  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 237  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN, GERMANY  
USDOCOSOUTH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 ROME 1753

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E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: ELAB, PINT, IT  
SUBJECT: LABOR CHIEF LAMA'S INTERVIEW

REF: ROME 1560 AND 1436

1. SUMMARY. THE CONTROVERSY AROUSED BY THE RECENT INTERVIEW  
BY CGIL SECRETARY GENERAL LAMA--PARTICULARLY HIS COMMENTS  
ADVOCATING THE NEED TO ALLOW ENTERPRISES WHICH ARE IN  
TROUBLE TO REDUCE THEIR WORKFORCES--CONTINUES UNABATED.  
THE CGIL SECRETARIAT WILL DISCUSS THE ISSUE JANUARY 28.  
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POLITICAL AND EDITORIAL COMMENT HAS BEEN CAUTIOUSLY FAVORABLE,  
THE CAUTION DERIVING PRIMARILY FROM A DISINCLINATION TO  
BE IDENTIFIED OPENLY WITH WHAT IS WIDELY REGARDED AS A MAJOR  
COMMUNIST POLICY INITIATIVE, LINKED WITH PCI EFFORTS TO  
ENTER DIRECTLY INTO ITALY'S GOVERNING PROCESSES. CRITI-  
CISM HAS BEEN SHARPEST IN LABOR CIRCLES, NOT EXCLUDING  
THE CGIL ITSELF OR EVEN COMMUNIST LEADERS WITHIN THE

CGIL. IN HIS FIRST PUBLIC APPEARANCE, AT A NOTORIOUSLY MILITANT FACTORY ASSEMBLY, LAMA WAS SUBJECTED TO SOME HECKLING BUT PASSED THE TEST, ACCORDING TO NEWSPAPER REPORTS.

2. IN HIS SPEECH JANUARY 26 BEFORE THE PCI CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST PARTY SECRETARY BERLINGUER MADE CLEAR THAT LABOR MODERATION IS ONE OF THE MOST VITAL CURRENT NEEDS, THAT ONLY THE COMMUNISTS CAN PROVIDE IT, AND THAT THIS NECESSITATES PCI ENTRY INTO THE GOVERNMENT. THUS, THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT LAMA'S PRONOUNCEMENTS ARE INSEPARABLE FROM PCI INTERESTS IN THE PRESENT SITUATION. THERE MAY, HOWEVER, BE EVEN MORE TO IT THAN THAT. IT SEEMS PLAUSIBLE THAT LAMA A) GENUINELY SUPPORTS THE POLICIES HE ADVOCATES, B) IS PREPARING FAIRLY SOON TO MOVE ON FROM HIS CGIL POST, C) HAS OFFERED HIMSELF AS A POTENTIAL SACRIFICE SHOULD THIS COMMUNIST INITIATIVE FAIL, AND D) THAT BRUNO TRENTIN IS QUIETLY WAITING IN THE WINGS TO TAKE OVER CGIL LEADERSHIP. END SUMMARY.

3. THE NEWSPAPER INTERVIEW ON NEW LABOR POLICY BY CGIL CHIEF LUCIANO LAMA HAS UNLEASHED A VERITABLE FIRESTORM OF CONTROVERSY AND DISCUSSION. IN GENERAL, THE REACTION FROM BUSINESS LEADERS, SUCH AS CONFINDUSTRIA PRESIDENT CARLI, HAS BEEN CAUTIOUSLY FAVORABLE: THEY WELCOME THE STATEMENTS OF INTENT EXPRESSED BY LAMA, BUT AWAIT CONFIDENTIAL

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THEIR TRANSFORMATION INTO ACTION. CARLI, HOWEVER, HAS ADDED THAT LAMA, IN THE INTERVIEW, PROPOSES A FURTHER INVASION OF MANAGERIAL PREROGATIVES THROUGH HIS PROPOSAL FOR CONTROLLING HIRES AND DISCHARGES.

4. POLITIRIL COMMENT, TOO, HAS BEEN FAVORABLE, PARTICULARLY ON THE PART OF UGO LAMALFA, PATRIARCH OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND A LEADING SPONSOR OF COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNMENT WHICH ANDREOTTI IS SEEKING TO PUT TOGETHER. SOCIALIST PARTY SECRETARY CRAXI, EXPRESSING APPROVAL OF THE CCU POLICY, OF WHICH LAMA'S INTERVIEW WAS AN ELABORATION, HAS CALLED LAMA'S STATEMENTS -A POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION" IN THE RESOLUTION OF ITALY'S ECONOMIC ILLS.

5. FAVORABLE COMMENTARY IS TO BE FOUND ALSO IN THE EDITORIALS OF SOME OF THE LEADING NEWSPAPERS. THE MODERATE ROME DAILY IL TEMPO SINGLES OUT FOR PRAISE LAMA'S CANDID ADMISSION OF ERRONEOUS LABOR POLICIES OF THE PAST WHILE THE NATIONAL DAILY CORRIERE DELLA SERA SAYS "LAMA'S STATEMENTS OFFER THE POSSIBILITY OF CONSTRUCTING, WITH PATIENCE AND TENACITY, A NEW AND MORE TOLERABLE FRAMEWORK

OF SOCIAL RELATIONS." THE BUSINESS DAILY IL SOLE/24 ORE  
ALSO COMMENTS FAVORABLY. TO BE SURE, EACH OF THESE  
COMMENTS, AND OTHERS AS WELL, EMPHASIZES TWO POINTS:

A) IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO SEPARATE LAMA'S STATEMENTS FROM  
THE INTERESTS OF HIS PARTY IN THE CURRENT POLITICAL CRISIS,  
I.E., THEY ARE DESIGNED TO BE OF ASSISTANCE TO COMMUNIST  
INTERESTS, AND B) WE HAVE HEARD SOME VERY NICE THINGS  
FROM LABOR LEADERS IN THE PAST WITHOUT SEEING THEM CON-  
VERTED INTO CONCRETE REALITY.

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/102 W

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FM AMEMBASSY ROME

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 238

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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6. THE HEAVIEST CRITICISM BY FAR HAS BEEN EXPRESSED  
BY LABOR LEADERS, CONCENTRATING ON HIS ADVOCACY OF  
READMITTING THE POSSIBILITY OF MANPOWER REDUCTIONS. THE  
COMMENTS RANGE FROM THE "RADICAL DISAGREEMENT"  
EXPRESSED BY CISL METAL WORKERS' CHIEF BENTIVOGLI TO  
THE COMMENT BY CGIL DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL MARIANETTI  
(PSI) THAT IF THE WAY LAMA EXPRESSED HIMSELF WAS UN-

INTENDED, THE INTERVIEW WAS "UNFORTUNATE"; OTHERWISE, IT WAS "AN ERROR". OTHER CGIL LEADERS, INCLUDING SOME COMMUNISTS (E.G., GALLI, SECGEN OF THE METAL WORKERS FIOM), HAVE JOINED IN THE CRITICISM. WHILE CISL SECGEN MACARIO  
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SAID THE LAMA INTERVIEW WAS "IN LINE" WITH THE CCU AGREEMENT, CISL DEPUTY SECGEN CARNITI SAID IT WAS NOT. UIL SEC- GEN BENVENUTO CALLED LAMA'S INTERPRETATIONS "DANGEROUSLY REDUCTIVE," AND ADDED: "NO INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACY CAN SURVIVE IF ITS QUALITY OF LIFE IS REDUCED TO THE LEVEL.. OF THE REGIMES OF EASTERN EUROPE".

7. PAOLO SARTORI, LEADING FIGURE IN THE CISL MINORITY COMMENTED; "WE OUGHT TO REJOICE IN THE FACT THAT LAMA HAS STUMBLERD ONTO POSITIONS WHICH OTHERWISE HE HIM- SELF HAS DESCRIBED AS HERETICAL". SARTORI ADDS THAT THIS SHIFT IS NOT SURPRISING SINCE, "AT THE MOMENT IN WHICH THE PCI IS NERVOUSLY, AND THROUGH ULTIMATA, ASCENDING THE STAIRS TO POWER, LAMA INVOKES A CHANGE OF LABOR POLICY, SUBORDINATING IT TO THE CURRENT CONVENIENCE OF HIS PARTY".

8. SO INTENSE HAS BEEN THE LABOR CRITICISM OF LAMA'S ADVOCACY OF THE POSSIBILITY OF DISMISSING REDUNDANT WORKERS THAT HE HAS BEEN CONSTRAINED TO BACK AWAY SOME- WHAT. IN AN OPEN LETTER, LAMA INSISTS HE NEVER USED THE WORD "DISMISSAL" AND SPOKE ONLY OF THE NEED TO RELIEVE ENTERPRISES IN CRISIS OF THEIR EXCESSIVE MANPOWER THROUGH A SYSTEM WHICH WOULD NOT RELEGATE THOSE WORKERS TO THE ROLLS OF THE UNEMPLOYED. THIS CLARIFICATION (OR ATTENU- ATION) HAS HARDLY ABATED THE HEATED DISCUSSION, HOWEVER. THE UPSHOT IS THAT, AT THE INITIATIVE OF SEVERAL CGIL LEADERS, THE CGIL SECRETARIAT IS MEETING TOMORROW, JANUARY 28.

9. YESTERDAY, LAMA MADE HIS FIRST PUBLIC APPEARANCE SINCE THE INTERVIEW, APPEARING BEFORE THE HIGHLY POLITICIZED WORKFORCE OF AN ELECTRICAL EQUIPMENT PLANT, ERCOLE MORELLI,  
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OUTSIDE MILAN. THIS APPEARANCE, AT A PLANT KNOWN AS A STRONHOLD OF COMMUNIST AND EXTRAPARLIAMENTARY MILITANCY, IS DESCRIBED IN THE PRESS AS A MAJOR TEST OF LAMA'S CONTROVERISAL THESES. DESPITE SOME CONTESTATIONS AND DISTURBANCES, IT IS CLEAR THAT LAMA PASSED THAT INITIAL

TEST.

10. COMMENT: THE CONTENTS OF LAMA'S INTERVIEW CONSTITUTE THE FRAMEWORK FOR A SOCIAL CONTRACT (THOUGH THERE IS A MAJOR AVERSION TO THE TERM IN ITALIAN LABOR CIRCLES). THIS ACCOUNTS FOR THE WARM SUPPORT FOR LAMA'S REMARKS BY REPUBLICAN LEADER LAMALFA WHO HAS LONG BEEN EMPHASIZING THE NEED FOR JUST SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT. THIS HAS LED UIL SECGEN BENVENUTO TO STATE THAT, IF LAMA IS RIGHT, THIS IS NOT AN ARGUMENT FOR BRINGING THE COMMUNISTS INTO GOVERNMENT BUT RATHER FOR MAKING LAMALFA PRIME MINISTER SINCE HE HAS LONG ESPOUSED THESE VIEWS.

11. IT IS TRUE THAT THE THINGS LAMA PROPOSED IN HIS INTERVIEW HE HAS ESPOUSED ON EARLIER RECENT OCCASIONS, THOUGH NEVER BEFORE SO SOGENTLY, NOR IS SO INTEGRAL A FORM. IT IS EQUALLY TRUE THAT HIS PROPOSALS DERIVE FROM THE RECENT CCU AGREEMENT (THROUGH A FULL TEXT OF THE LATTER IS NOT YET AVAILABLE TO US). STILL, LAMA'S INTERPRETATION OF THE VARIOUS POINTS IN THE AGREEMENT ARE CLEARLY FORMULATED ALONG LINES DESIGNED TO BE MOST FORTHCOMING IN PLACING ORGANIZED LABOR IN A COOPERATIVE STANCE IN REALIZING A NATIONAL POLICY OF ECONOMIC AUSTERITY AND RETRENCHMENT. HIS FORMULATIONS ARE ALSO PROBABLY CALCULATED TO DIRECT THE DEBATE ON THE INTERPRETATION OF LABOR POLICY, WITHIN LABOR CIRCLES AND AMONG THE RANK AND FILE, ALONG MODERATE LINES, PLACING GREATER EMPHASIS ON THE SACRIFICES LABOR MUST MAKE THAN ALMOST SURELY WOULD OTHERWISE EVOLVE.

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12. WHY? WHAT ARE LAMA'S TRUE MOTIVATIONS? THE LIKELIEST ANSWER IS TO BE FOUND IN THE AREA OF PCI INTERESTS IN THE CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION. WHILE THE PARTY CONTINUES ITS HARD LINE FOR MAXIMAL ADMITTANCE TO THE POLITICAL PROCESSES, AT LEAST ON THE SURFACE, ITS LABOR WING IS DEMONSTRATING TO THE COUNTRY--TO MANAGEMENT, TO THE OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES, TO THE LABORING RANK AND FILE--THJG NOT ONLY ARE THE COMMUNISTS THE MAJOR FACTOR IN TRADE UNION CIRCLES, BUT THEY ALSO POSSESS THE BOLDNESS TO BE THE ADVOCATES OF THE SENSIBLE POLICIES WHICH THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC SITUATION REQUIRES. THIS IS CLEARLY CONFIDENTIAL

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BORNE OUT IN THE SPEECH DELIVERED JANUARY 26 BY PCI SECRETARY BERLINGUER TO THE PARTY'S CENTRAL COMMITTEE: "THE WILLINGNESS OF THE UNIFIED LABOR FEDERATION (CCU) TO PHASE AND LIMIT WAGE DEMANDS....MUST BE ECHOED IN A POLICY WHICH GUARANTEES AN EFFECTIVE RESUMPTION AND A CORRECT ORIENTATION OF PRODUCTIVE INVESTMENTS. THE NECESSITY FOR THE CONSTITUTION OF AN EMERGENCY GOVERNMENT LIES HERE ABOVE ALL". IN SHORT , HE SAID THAT REINING IN THE LABOR SECTOR IS OF TOP PRIORITY; ONLY THE PCI CAN DO IT; THAT IS WHY ITS PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT IS VITAL.

13. ONE SHOULD NOT, HOWEVER, TOTALLY DISASSOCIATE LAMA THE TRADE UNIONIST FROM THE MIX OF MOTIVATIONS WHICH PROMPTED HIS INTERVIEW. HIS PRONOUNCEMENTS ARE CONSISTENT WITH WHAT ONE KNOWS OF HIS CHARACTER AND BASIC VIEWPOINTS: HE IS A HIGHLY INTELLIGENT, REFLECTIVE LABOR LEADER. HE IS ALSO A LOYAL COMMUNIST. THESE FACTS COMBINE IN AN INTERESTING AND PLAUSIBLE SCENARIO: THE MODERATE DIRECTION POINTED BY LAMA SERVES PCI INTERESTS FOR THE REASONS ADDUCED ABOVE. FOR SOME TIME, IT HAS BEEN RUMORED THAT LAMA MIGHT MOVE OUT OF THE CGIL LEADERSHIP INTO OTHER, PROBABLY POLITICAL, AREAS OF COMMUNIST ACTIVITY. THUS, LAMA HAS WILLINGLY OFFERED HIMSELF UP AS A POTENTIAL SCRAPEGOAT FOR THE POLICY OF LABOR MODERATION. IF THE POLICY GETS SHOT DOWN IN THE

DEBATE WHICH HIS INTERVIEW HAS INSPIRED, OR AS THE  
RESULT OF CHANGES IN THE POLITICAL PICTURE, HE CAN BE  
"SACRIFICED" (IN AN ALREADY PRE-ORDAINED MANNER) WHILE  
THE PCI AND THE CGIL REGROUP. THIS ALL TIES IN WITH  
LAMA'S STATEMENTS, AT THE END OF THE LA REPUBBLICA INTERVIEW,  
REGARDING THE PERSONAL CONCLUSIONS HE WOULD DRAW FROM A  
FAILURE TO GAIN LABOR ENDORSEMENT FOR THE POLICIES HE  
ADVOCATED. WAITING IN THE WINGS TO TAKE OVER AT THE CGIL  
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HELM IS BRUNO TRENTIN, "PROMOTED" IN LAST SUMMER'S CGIL  
CONVENTION TO THE NATIONAL SECRETARIAT FROM HIS POST  
AS SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE METAL WORKERS UNION (FIOM).  
TRENTIN, A HARDLINER WHO IS NOTORIOUSLY OPPOSED TO  
ANYTHING RESEMBLING A SOCIAL CONTRACT, HAS SO FAR  
BEEN OSTENTATIOUSLY QUIET IN THE CURRENT DEBATE. GARDNER

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## Message Attributes

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